



CETTYSBURG
ALL OF WHICH SAW PART OF WHICH WAS
THIS STONE
FROM THE BATTLEFIELD OF CETTYSBURG
PRESENTED BY
THE FOURTEENTH REGIMENT WAR VETERANS
1894

ANTON SCHAEFER JR.
1893

"AND HOW CAN MAN DIE BETTER
THAN FACING FEARFUL ODDS

DEDICATED
TO THE MEN OF THE

Over the Top

The Doughboy in World War I Memorials and Visual Culture

Jennifer Wingate

In 1922 Charles Moore, chairman of the National Commission of Fine Arts, expressed serious concern about World War I memorials in an article he wrote for the *American Legion Weekly*. He warned:

*We of today laugh at the grotesque figures of the soldiers of the Civil War, with their strange uniforms, whether Union or Confederate. Will not the doughboy of the World War, with his clumsy helmet, his sagging belt and the other burdens of equipment, seem even more grotesque to the coming generations? And yet we are setting up doughboys all over the land.*¹

Moore was not alone in his distaste for statues honoring the U.S. soldiers, popularly known as doughboys, who had served in the Great War. Beginning in 1919, critics, artists, national art organizations, and municipal art societies formed advisory committees and distributed guidelines with the hope of mitigating the “plague of war memorials” afflicting the nation. They believed it was their duty to counsel Americans on the topic of commemorative art and to help establish standards for high-quality monuments.²

Moore and others like sculpture critic Adeline Adams were determined to halt

the spread of local soldier monuments, the so-called common-man memorials that had gained popularity after the Civil War. The “maddening monotony” of mass-produced Civil War soldiers, usually depicted standing at parade rest, haunted participants in the post–World War I memorial debates.³ To avoid repeating the mistakes of earlier years, they urged local memorial committees to choose simple commemorative forms like decorative flagpoles instead of figurative sculpture produced by the nation’s expanding commercial monument industry. The basic principle underlying their advice was that no sculpture was better than bad sculpture endlessly repeated. Many art professionals believed effective and timeless memorials could only be made by artists of “genius,” whose creative, original designs the general public could not appreciate, let alone afford.

There were exceptions, of course. Impressionist painter Cecilia Beaux was not as concerned about Americans’ perceived inability to appreciate the aesthetic quality of commemorative sculpture, but saw it as a popular art that could serve other significant public functions. In a 1919 essay in the *American Magazine of Art*, Beaux expressed hope that the nation’s artists would use their skills to help design soldier memorials, suggesting

Anton Schaaf, *Fourteenth Regiment Memorial*, 1923. Bronze sculpture on granite base, over life-size. Fourteenth Regiment Armory, Eighth Avenue between Fourteenth and Fifteenth Streets, Brooklyn, New York

they do so “at a minimum price” as a service to the living. “We are a busy and cheerful people. We shall not become morbid over our dead,” she said. “Let our memorials be such as to turn us aside, for the moment of pity, love and pride.” The American soldier and sailor of the Great War, she said, must be “permanently and visibly on record in many places, as he looked and was.”⁴

In her comments, Beaux anticipated the functional and symbolic power of the doughboy in commemorative art of the late teens and twenties. The popularity of soldier sculpture in the United

States, especially the fighting doughboy (frontispiece), was forged in part by the nationalistic fervor and public fear of radical reform movements that followed World War I and by concerns about reintegration of soldiers into American society after the war’s conclusion in 1918. Such memorials, both mass-produced designs and individually commissioned works, served not only as sites of remembrance but also as familiar and comforting symbols of patriotism and stability for their communities. Doughboys were mythologized in many other ways in popular imagery—in magazine illustrations (fig. 1), advertisements, sheet music covers, and posters, for instance, all of which informed attitudes toward U.S. soldiers and their place in postwar society. Thus this article does not address the relative artistic merit or quality of World War I memorials that so worried art critics of the time; rather it examines the meanings they held for their publics. For many Americans, the image of the soldier served as an antidote to radicalism, a sign of vigilance and loyalty, and a reassuring vision of American fitness and manhood.

Vigilant Doughboys

Soldier sculptures came in a variety of attitudes, from the tensely alert vigilant doughboy to the actively charging soldier “going over the top”—stepping over the top of a trench to charge the enemy lines. The vigilant doughboy was especially popular in 1919 and through the early 1920s—resonating with the postwar Red Scare, when widespread concern about communist influence on U.S. society fueled continued suspicion of immigrant groups and ethnic workers. The Bushwick-Ridgewood memorial by Pietro Montana (1890–1978), dedicated in Brooklyn, New York, in 1921 marked its German-American neighborhood’s war service and “Americanism” (fig. 2).

- 1 *American Magazine*, September 1917, with cover illustration by J. Knowles Hare





- 2 Pietro Montana, *Bushwick-Ridgewood World War I Memorial*, dedicated in Heisser Square, Brooklyn, New York, November 20, 1921. Bronze sculpture, 78 in. tall, on granite base. Pietro Montana Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

At the same time, it expressed the nationalistic pride and legitimacy of its Italian-American sculptor. The sculpted doughboy's masculine bravado tempered by innocent vulnerability made it instantly appealing to contemporary viewers and helped launch Montana's career as a modeler of patriotic art. Portrayed as if in the charged moment of anticipation before battle, the figure recalls a Renaissance *David*. Just as Michelangelo's sculpture represented

the new confidence of the republic of Florence and its victory over the Medici, Montana's vigilant soldier represented the Allied victory and America's proud role.

In 1919 the Idaho State War Memorial Commission chose another vigilant doughboy design, by the sculptor Avard T. Fairbanks (1897–1987), to be placed in each of Idaho's counties. A review of the unrealized proposal in the trade journal *Monumental News* described Fairbanks's soldier as a symbol of democracy, the "self reliance of manhood," and the "battle for individual human rights."⁵ By appropriating funds for this ambitious plan, the state legislature of Idaho recognized the power of uniformity. The proposal attested to the widespread belief that soldier sculptures, despite their homogeneity, could preserve the memory of lost lives at the same time that they perpetuated ideals about America's part in the Great War.

The actively charging doughboy was the most pervasive type represented in figurative memorials to the First World War. John Paulding (1883–1935), for example, sculpted three charging soldiers for his *Over-the-Top* series, marketed by the American Art Bronze Foundry in Chicago. In 1922 the foundry's proprietor sued another sculptor, Ernest Moore Viquesney (1876–1946), for copyright infringement, claiming that his fighting soldier sculpture was so similar to Paulding's *Over-the-Top* that it "deceived the general public."⁶ There is ample evidence, however, that the public was less concerned about such sculptures' originality than about the messages they conveyed within their respective communities.

The work of Viquesney, an Indiana-born sculptor with a talent for self-promotion, offers a compelling case study for examining the appeal and antiradical function of the fighting soldier in World War I memorial sculpture. His *Spirit of the American Doughboy* (fig. 3) was one of the most popular memorial designs of the



1920s, thanks in part to an advertising campaign that tapped contemporary strains of intolerance. Viquesney sold more than 130 copies of two life-sized versions of the sculpture, as well as an undocumented number of miniatures and lamps, in thirty-eight states. The memorials and statuettes reminded owners, community members, and veterans of wartime service and sacrifice. But Viquesney also tried to associate his design with nationwide interest in a widely publicized incident, a violent clash in 1919 in Centralia, Washington, between American Legionnaires and members of the Industrial Workers of the World. The IWW, whose members were known as the Wobblies, was a radical labor union that had criticized the world war as a rich man's war fought by poor men and workers. Vigilance and patriotic groups continued to associate the Wobblies with Bolshevism and disloyalty in the postwar years.⁷

Viquesney's advertisements announced that the American Legion's National Memorial Committee had endorsed the *Spirit of the American Doughboy* as a perfect representation of a U.S. soldier. According to some sources, the committee also chose Viquesney's doughboy as the legion's tribute to legionnaires killed by Wobblies during Centralia's first Armistice Day parade. Viquesney publicized his memorial as the "official" symbol of the legion's fight against radicalism even though the American Legion chapter in Centralia selected a different sculpture, by Alonzo Victor Lewis, to dedicate to the slain legion members in 1924. To counter the threat posed by groups like the Wobblies, the sculptor's advertisements urged communities to dedicate the *Spirit of the American Doughboy* as a sign of security and of respect for "democracy's greatest son—the American Doughboy." Viquesney conflated nationalism with authenticity by selling a "100% perfect" representation of an American soldier,

3 Ernest Moore Viquesney, *Spirit of the American Doughboy*, © 1920, dedicated 1929 in Perth Amboy, New Jersey. Bronze sculpture, approximately 84 in. tall, on granite base

4 *American Legion Weekly*, August 15, 1919

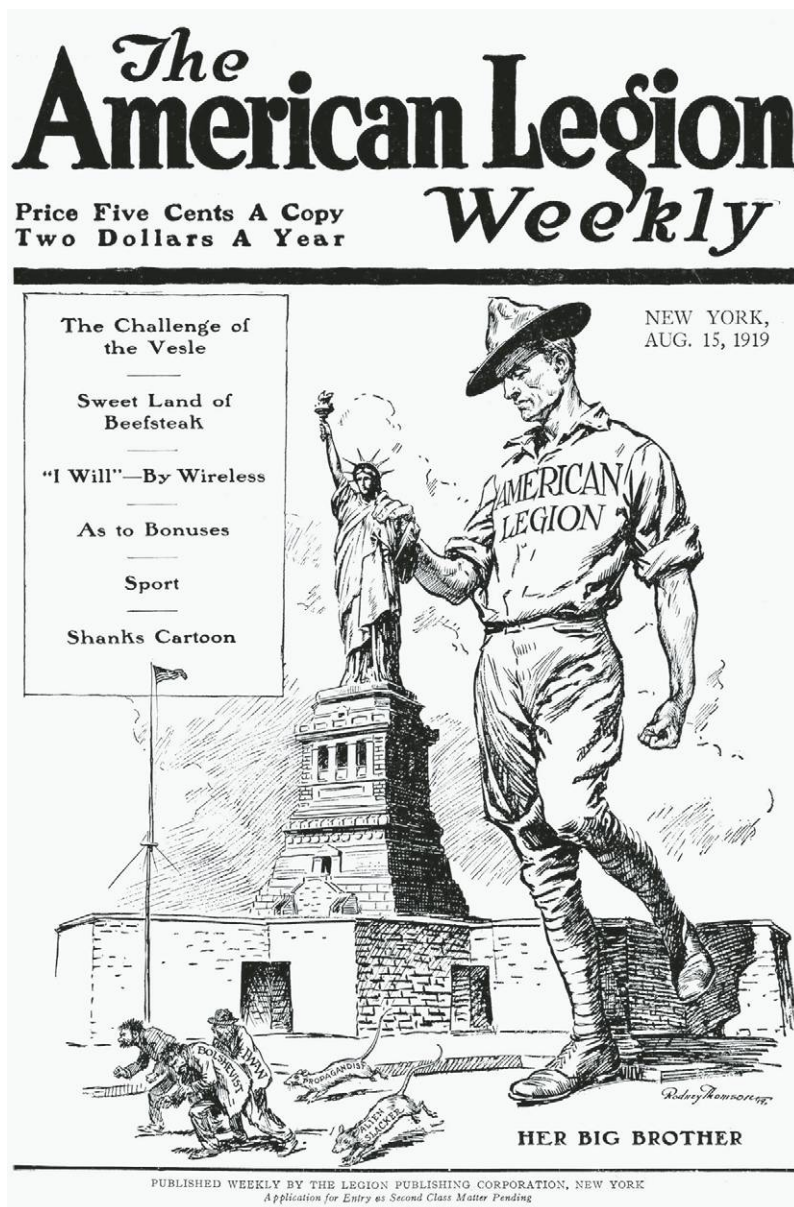
a sales pitch that would have resonated with the interwar rhetoric of “100% Americanism.”⁸

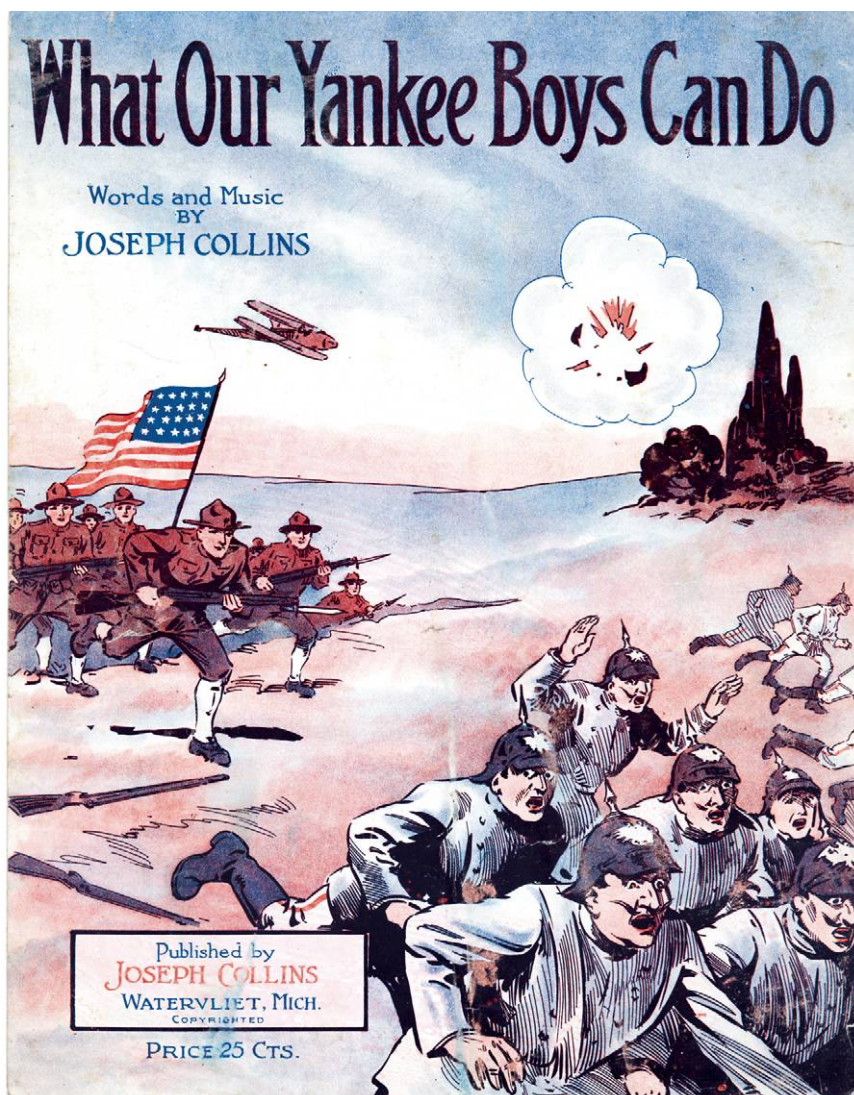
Local newspapers printed Viquesney’s promotional materials to help raise money to purchase reproductions of his *Spirit of the American Doughboy* for their communities. The Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, paper, for one, published a series of articles invoking the “red IWWs” of Centralia to generate interest in a local fund drive to erect Viquesney’s memorial. At the dedication of Chambersburg’s

doughboy in 1923, one speaker, whose three sons had served in the war, remarked that the statue would be a “reminder that our civil rights can only be maintained by unwearied watchfulness.”⁹

An illustration on the cover of the *American Legion Weekly* on August 15, 1919 (fig. 4), makes explicit the link between fighting and vigilant doughboy memorials and public fears about communism, labor, and immigrants. A giant doughboy towers over the Statue of Liberty, his right hand resting on Liberty’s left shoulder, his left hand clenched in a fist (recalling the pose of Pietro Montana’s doughboy in Brooklyn). He looks down at a cluster of miscreants and rats running away from his looming figure. Their diminutive bodies are labeled “IWW,” “Bolshevist,” “Propagandist,” and “Alien Slacker.” To the American Legion and its supporters, these disloyal radicals threatened Liberty’s very foundation. In short, they promised to undo everything the legionnaires had fought to achieve.

Outdoor sculptures like the *Spirit of the American Doughboy* also accrued personal meanings for individuals and groups who participated in fund-raising drives, dedication ceremonies, and memorial services. Organizing a fund-raising vaudeville show or contributing to a monument’s purchase through public subscription helped generate community interest and a sense of ownership. Laying a wreath on Armistice Day or marching in the dedication parade while dressed in the costume of one’s native country helped religious and ethnic groups, fraternal societies, veterans’ organizations, and schoolchildren foster a sense of connection with a town’s memorial. Reading a poem that referred to specific people and places likewise contributed to the personalization of mass-produced monuments.¹⁰ The addition of honor rolls further individualized doughboy sculptures, adding legitimacy to a community’s claims that a particular





- 5 "What Our Yankee Boys Can Do," 1918. Sam DeVincent Collection of Illustrated Sheet Music, Archives Center, National Museum of American History, Behring Center, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

mail-order statue was "original" or "one-of-a-kind."

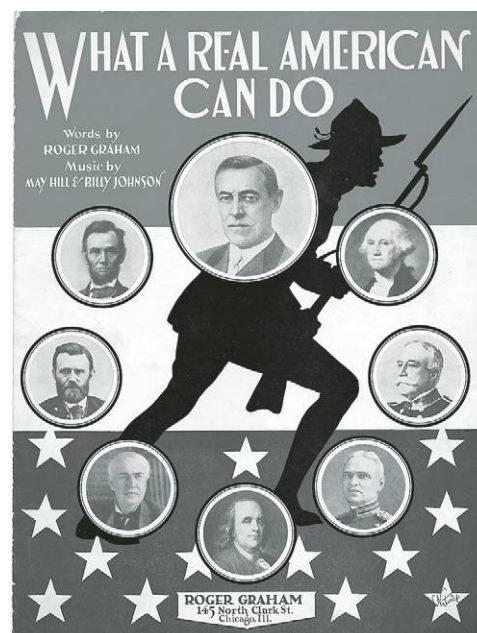
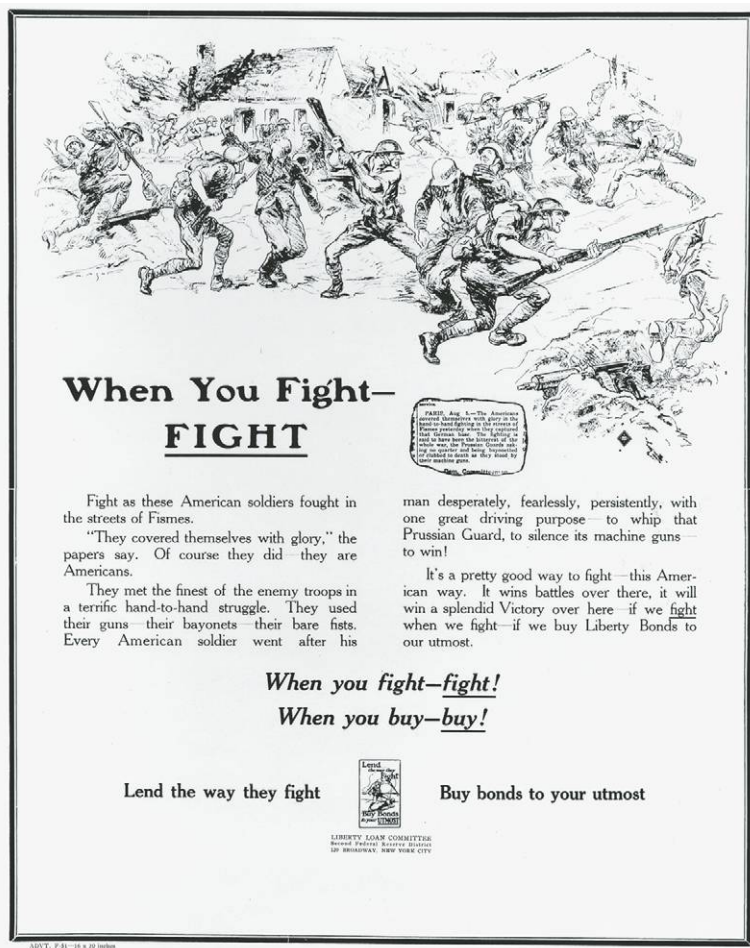
However, as the supporters of the Idaho proposal were aware, and as Civil War common-man monuments demonstrated, it was the familiarity rather than originality of many soldier sculptures that made them so desirable. The fighting doughboy had been a constant presence in the visual culture of the war years, appearing in war propaganda, such as the posters and films produced by the Committee on Public Information (CPI), and also in novels and songs that perpetuated the notion of the warrior ideal (fig. 5).¹¹

Fighting Themes

The proliferation of doughboy imagery helped to shape the way the public remembered the soldiers' experience. One Liberty Loan poster (fig. 6), for example, appealed directly to the ideal of the invincible U.S. soldier, entreating viewers to "Lend the way they fight" by buying war bonds. It shows a scene in France, where doughboys fought to victory in brutal one-on-one combat. The text explains: "They met the finest of the enemy troops in a terrific hand-to-hand struggle. They used their guns—their bayonets—their bare fists. Every American soldier went after his man desperately, fearlessly, persistently." Although the American Expeditionary Force's inexperience, poor training, and disproportionately high casualty rate have been well documented, the doughboy's role in World War I was perceived as heroic, marked by masculine prowess and martial exploits.¹²

Even on sheet music covers for wartime love songs, doughboys struck deadly poses. Instead of a more romantic or whimsical cover illustration, the image for the tune "Your Lips Are No Man's Land But Mine" shows a fierce soldier with drawn bayonet (fig. 7). The sheet music's publishers were banking on the commercial success of the song's lyricist, Arthur Guy Empey. Empey's best-selling memoir *Over the Top* by an American Soldier Who Went (1917) narrated his courageous exploits fighting with the British before the United States entered the war.¹³ His song, like thousands of others, celebrated such tales of triumph in the face of danger.

Seventy percent of all copyrighted songs in 1918 were war songs. Sheet music covers attest to their major themes, especially the aggressiveness of the American soldier, eager to fight and win (fig. 8). The phrase "over the top," for example, was used in at least three dozen songs. The fighting themes of the war



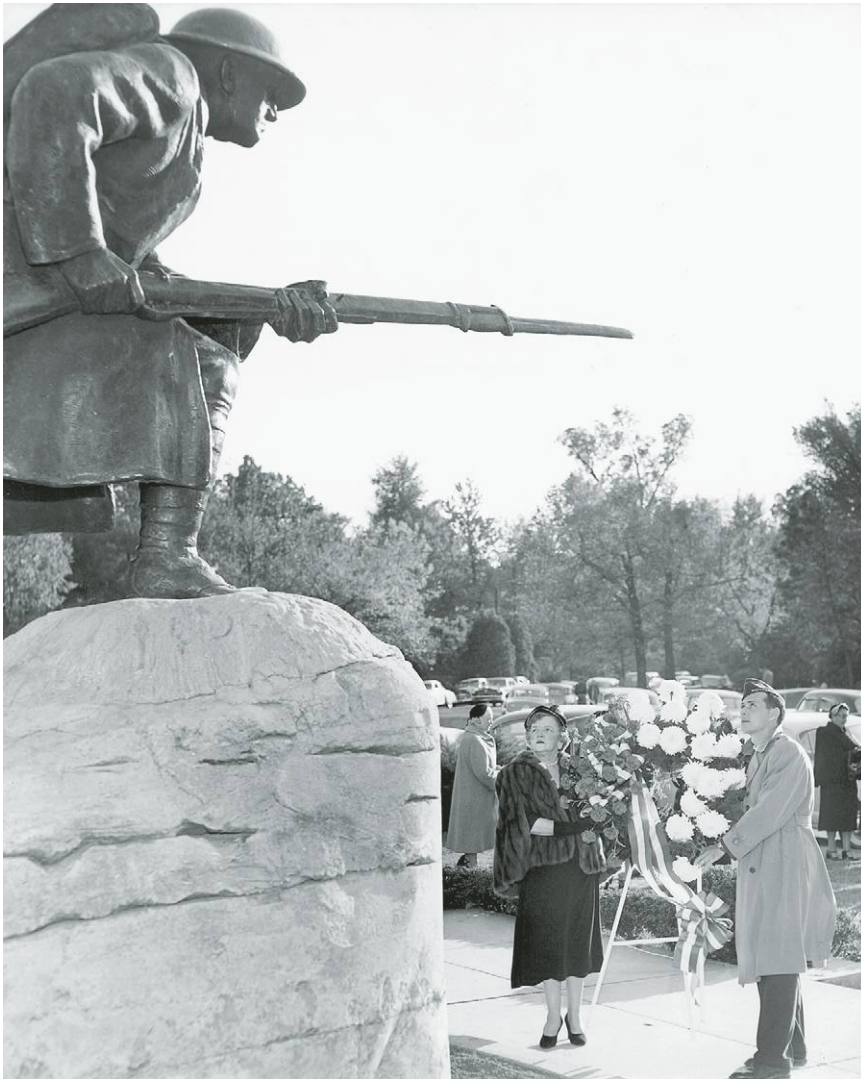
- 6 Edmund M. Ashe, "When You Fight—FIGHT," 1918. Poster, 25 x 19 in., for the Liberty Loan Committee of the Second Federal Reserve District, New York. Princeton University Poster Collection, Archives Center, National Museum of American History, Behring Center, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
- 7 "Your Lips Are No Man's Land But Mine," 1918. Sam DeVincent Collection of Illustrated Sheet Music, Archives Center, National Museum of American History, Behring Center, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
- 8 "What a Real American Can Do," 1917. Sam DeVincent Collection of Illustrated Sheet Music, Archives Center, National Museum of American History, Behring Center, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

years, moreover, were revived in songs published throughout the summer of 1919, well after the conflict was over.¹⁴

The image of the doughboy climbing over the top of a trench, breaching the barbed wire of no-man's-land, and either throwing a grenade or brandishing a bayonet embodied General John Pershing's commitment to offensive action and open warfare. Under his direction, the training of U.S. troops for World War I focused on personal combat skills. The soldiers were drilled in the use of the rifle and bayonet so that they could fight without artillery protection. Although these skills were sometimes learned at the expense of others needed to survive and win in a technologically modern war, troops and civilians alike

subscribed to the ideals of individual heroism and aggression nurtured by the United States Army.¹⁵ These attitudes helped to make the doughboy image a potent presence in wartime propaganda and American visual culture.

At the Armistice Day dedication of one of Viquesney's memorials in Americus, Georgia, in 1921, one speaker



9 Memorial services, November 11, 1953, at *The Doughboy*, a sculpture by Nancy Coonsman Hahn, dedicated in 1926 in Overton Park, Memphis, Tennessee. *Commercial Appeal* photograph, Special Collections, University of Memphis Libraries

paid homage to the doughboy's aggression and to Pershing's military strategy:

*The time will come when General Pershing will be considered one of the greatest generals of the World War, because . . . it was he who insisted that our soldiers get out of the trenches and whip the Germans, instead of living and dying in the trenches and letting the Germans destroy them. That was the supreme idea that brought the war to termination three or four years before any of us expected it to end.*¹⁶

Similarly, the secretary of the Soldiers' Memorial Committee of the Memphis,

Tennessee, Daughters of the American Revolution wrote admiringly of a doughboy sculpture the DAR dedicated there in 1926 (fig. 9) and its contribution to the fighting ideal:

*[I]n this wonderfully realistic statue, the typical American soldier seems to animate the bronze from which he is cast. He lives. He is in the act of going over the top. He is showing us how he did it. We see how the German hordes were driven back and forced to acknowledge their defeat by thousands like him—the flower of our young manhood. The sculptor [Nancy Coonsman Hahn] . . . has caught the emotion, the devotion to duty, the determination to do or die that makes the hero. She has caught the soul of our American Doughboy.*¹⁷

These words of praise for the Memphis memorial elevate the doughboy's embodiment of martial glory over its commemoration of suffering or loss.

Marketing the Doughboy

Portrayals of doughboys were also common in the illustrations and advertisements carried by popular magazines such as the *Saturday Evening Post* and the *American Magazine* during the war years. Most images showed smiling soldiers passing time in camp, happy to receive packages from home of name-brand goods like Ivory soap and Kodak photos. But the fighting U.S. soldier also appeared in advertisements for products as banal as fountain pens and cigarettes. Cigarette ads in particular strove to link the brand in question with discipline and sound judgment, qualities associated with true manhood. An ad for Murad cigarettes in the October 1918 issue of the *American Magazine* featured the charging doughboy, emphasizing masculine aggression over manly restraint (fig. 10).

This ad shows a physically powerful doughboy stepping over the top of a



10 "Murad, The Turkish Cigarette," advertisement in *American Magazine* (October 1918), 145

trench and into the rugged terrain of no-man's-land. An enormous bald eagle frames the soldier's charging figure and leads him into battle. The eagle's sharp beak, open in a predatory battle cry, hovers just above the blade of the dough-boy's bayonet. An image of U.S. might, the helmeted foot soldier and airborne eagle contrast with the picture on the cigarette pack the ad sells: a harem woman

in the foreground reclining on an ornamental chaise, while in the background a setting sun illuminates the skyline of a distant coastal city. The advertisement juxtaposes the early-twentieth-century American penchant for exoticism, as represented by the picture on the cigarette label, with the sense of adventure, aggression, and optimism associated with the Great War in American popular culture. The passive figure of the supine woman accentuates the active courage of the virile soldier who is poised to end the stalemate and win the war.

Heroism and exoticism were also paired in the visual culture of wartime fund-raising fairs, such as Hero Land, a charity bazaar that took place at New York City's Grand Central Palace in the fall of 1917. Newspaper announcements promised five floors of the "most graphic of spectacles," including a "British tank, just from the firing line." Organizers marketed the war as an enticing adventure, something to be experienced alongside ice skating shows and "visits" to foreign lands. The Baghdad display, complete with "Persian gardens, market places, Oriental wells, booths, bazaars," veiled women, "black slaves and screeching peacocks," occupied the third floor of Grand Central Palace, while "an exact reproduction" of the Hindenburg trenches filled the basement.¹⁸ Reenactments of famous battles had been a feature at world's fairs in the early twentieth century, but Hero Land's war exhibits served a more urgent purpose. Proceeds went to American and Allied relief organizations, and fair promoters urged New Yorkers to spend money there to help bring "cheer and comfort to wounded Americans and their brothers-in-arms." The centerpiece of the fair, after all, was the soldier, on display at the firing range, in the dugouts, and performing drills for Hero Land's visitors.

Indeed, images of fighting soldiers, especially troops going "over the top,"

transcended any one medium, appearing as they did in news photographs, propaganda posters and handbills, films, and ultimately memorials.¹⁹

Fitness and Masculinity

Illustrators usually depicted the soldiers in profile to optimize the menacing knifelike forms of their bayonets and underscore their forward movement. Such portrayals of the aggressive male figure were not entirely novel, recalling as they did early-twentieth-century depictions of athletes. J. C. Leyendecker's cover illustration for the November 1913 issue of the *Saturday Evening Post*, for instance, shows the fierce profiles of charging football players.²⁰ Since the turn of the century, sports increasingly had become the arena in which to test one's masculinity. R. Tait McKenzie (1867–1938), a physical educator and a sculptor of athletes and soldier memorials, acknowledged the increased respect for the value of sports and the "fighting spirit" in twentieth-century U.S. life:

*The ability to fight, to protect or conquer appeals to all of us and these elemental qualities are intimately associated with the survival of any great and powerful race. As a people our activity has taken on more and more this form of expression—the medium of athletics. And as a nation we will thus conserve our vitality.*²¹

Thus the image of the charging dough-boy was part of a larger trend to nurture and celebrate the vitality of the modern man and of the nation.

The representation of heroic dough-boys on World War I monuments must also be understood in the context of concerns about the reintegration of troops into American society. These included public anxieties about the health of returning veterans during new outbreaks of the Spanish influenza and the

rehabilitation of wounded soldiers as well as worries that unemployed veterans would be vulnerable to radical propaganda.²²

Questions about the health of U.S. troops had arisen much earlier. In 1917, the year the United States entered the war, draft examinations showed not only a high degree of illiteracy among recruits but an unexpectedly high incidence of poor health. The army rejected as physically unfit for military service almost a third of the 2.5 million men between the ages of twenty-one and thirty who had been given physical examinations. These numbers forced the War Department to establish "development battalions" to help make men fit to fight by improving their health. A writer for the *Literary Digest* in April 1918 approved of the new system of reclamation camps for unfit recruits, saying, "[T]he nation will gain an increment of strength and self-confidence that will be some compensation for the cruel losses of battle. Death for some; for some healing and heightening power—such will prove to be the lottery of war."²³

Articles published in popular magazines aimed to quell readers' fears about the well-being of troops by stressing the health benefits of military training. An army surgeon interviewed for the *American Magazine* claimed to have witnessed the army transform "pasty young clerks" into "Men," and "flabby human jellyfish" into "husky fellows." Their life as soldiers, he reassured his American audience, helps them develop physiological resistance, "the biggest factor in a wounded man's chances." Another testimonial appeared in the same magazine in July 1918: "To Fathers and Mothers of Boys in France—," the article's title read, "The health of our soldiers is well cared for—in spite of loose talk."²⁴

Even when the war ended early in the fall of 1918, a flu epidemic aggravated concerns about the fitness of America's young manhood. The devastating



He Will Come Back a Better Man!

*Uncle Sam is giving him a newer and better equipment,
in mind and body—fitting him for a bigger, finer life*

WHEN that boy of yours comes marching home a Victorious Crusader he will be a very different person from the lad you bravely sent away with a kiss, a tear and a smile.

He will be strong in body, quick and sure in action, alert and keen in mind, firm and resolute in character, calm and even-tempered.

Self-control and self-reliance—ability to think and act in emergencies—coolness and courage in time of stress and danger—such will be the product of his training and experience.

Neatness, precision in detail without fuss and worry, promptness, reliability, scrupulous integrity, thoughtfulness and courtesy—these things come from army comradeship and discipline.

A broad-shouldered, deep-chested, square-jawed YOUNG MAN with flashing eyes and a happy smile—that's who will throw himself into your arms when "Johnny Comes Marching Home Again."

That's who is coming back to live his life in happiness with you.

And in his hands—and yours lies the future of America.

Help him, keep him happy NOW—by cheerful, newsy letters—for your sake—and for Uncle Sam.

COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC INFORMATION, 8 Jackson Place, Washington, D.C.

GEORGE CREEL, Chairman
THE SECRETARY OF STATE

THE SECRETARY OF WAR
THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY

Contributed through Division of Advertising U. S. Gov. Committee on Public Information

This space is contributed for the Winning of the War by

THE CROWELL PUBLISHING COMPANY
THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE WOMAN'S HOME COMPANION FARM AND FIRESIDE

11 Committee on Public Information advertisement, "He Will Come Back a Better Man!" *American Magazine* (January 1919), 106

Spanish influenza ravaged both stateside troops awaiting demobilization and soldiers in overseas embarkation camps waiting to return home. Between the fall of 1918 and mid-spring of 1919, the United States Army lost 34,000 men to the flu. The epidemic threatened to weaken the already fragile morale of men caught in a slow and disorganized demobilization. Announcements by the CPI's Division of Advertising encouraged women to write cheerful letters to their men in the army and also promised that those men would return healthy.²⁵

One CPI ad in particular took over where war propaganda and recruitment posters had left off (fig. 11).²⁶ Just as the earlier posters stressed the army's role in making better men, this ad, published in the *American Magazine* in January 1919, assured readers that returning soldiers would be "strong in body, quick and sure in action, alert and keen in mind, firm and resolute in character, calm and even-tempered." Indeed, it went beyond promises of good health and strong character. It predicted the physical type of soldiers who would be coming home. "A broad-shouldered, deep-chested, square-jawed YOUNG MAN with flashing eyes and a happy smile—that's who," the advertisement announced, "is coming back to live his life in happiness with you."

The Commission on Training Camp Activities (CTCA), a progressive federal agency created by President Woodrow Wilson in 1917 to educate troops in "social hygiene" and to help develop in-camp and community recreation programs, also refocused its activities after the war to serve the veteran. The CTCA's new goal was to facilitate the return of soldiers to civilian life "better equipped than ever before to take up their economic and social responsibilities." Along with the Morale Division, it strove to convey a "steadying message" by encouraging firmness in the face of enduring economic and industrial stress, just as men had shown steadfastness against the enemy in war.²⁷

Representations of the fighting soldier and of the stalwart soldier must be considered in the context of these anxieties about the well-being of returning American soldiers and efforts by the CPI and other federal agencies to address them. Depictions of doughboys in memorial sculpture provided models of heroism, stability, glowing health, and unimpeachable character in the years after the war. Philip Martiny's *Chelsea Park World War Memorial* (fig. 12) features a doughboy in a pose that would



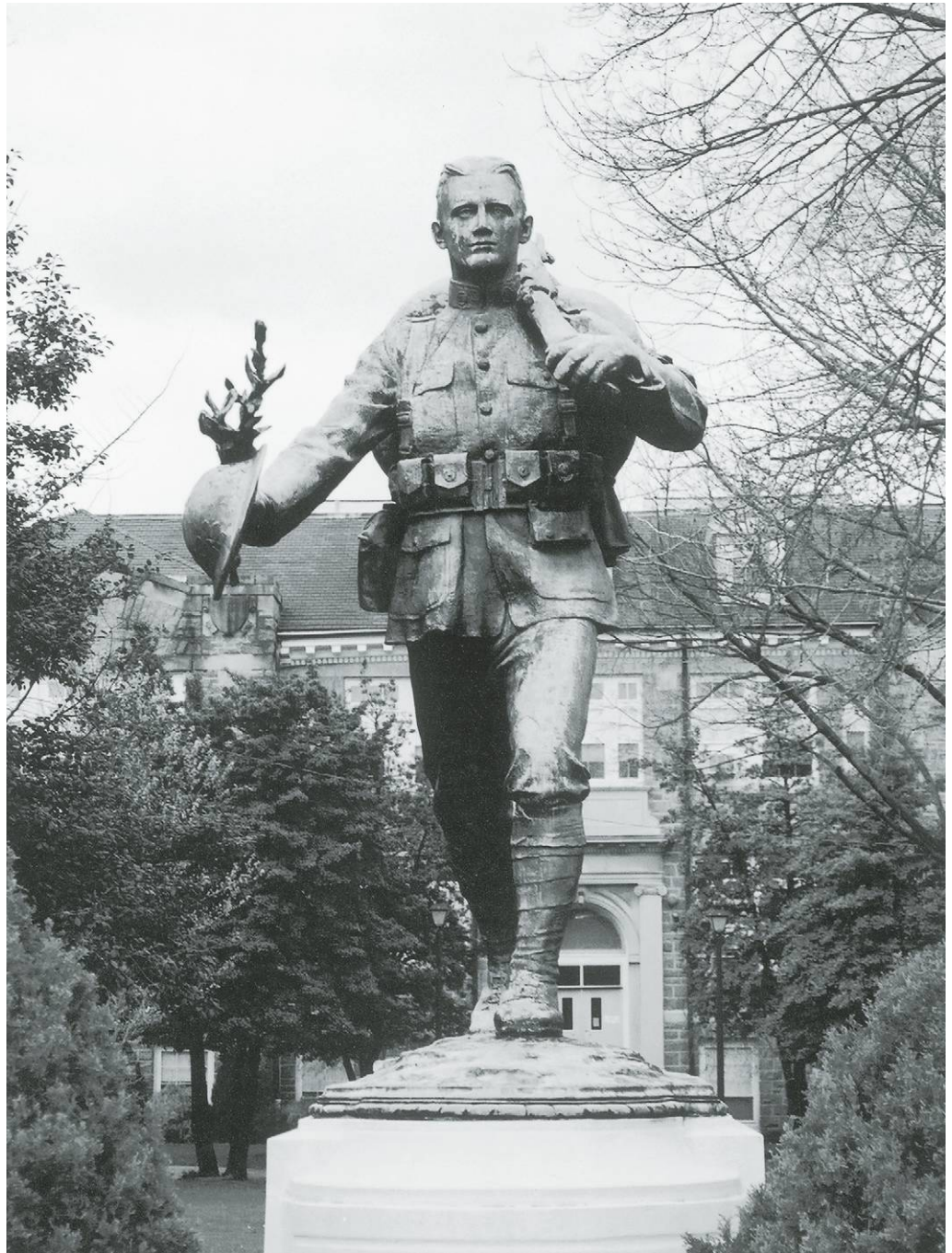
- 12 Philip Martiny, *Chelsea Park World War Memorial*, 1921. Bronze sculpture on granite base, over life-size. Twenty-eighth Street and Ninth Avenue, New York
- 13 Pietro Montana with his dough-boy sculpture for the East Providence, Rhode Island, World War memorial, 1927. Pietro Montana Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

have been associated by contemporary viewers with the popular French military slogan “*On ne passe pas*” (They shall not pass). The soldier’s handsome features, unwavering pose, and commanding stare were intended to elicit admiration and pride. For another example, see fig. 13. Commemorative sculpture did depict wounded soldiers, but such portrayals were uncommon.²⁸ The memorials of the early 1920s also rarely acknowledged African American veterans, preferring the physically fit body of the white middle-class doughboy as an exemplar of masculinity.

The commemorative sculpture of R. Tait McKenzie epitomizes the rehabilitative urge to represent the whole,

physically perfect body while also signaling the pseudoscience of racial typing, a development that fueled the arguments of anti-immigration proponents in the 1920s. McKenzie, who had begun sculpting in the early 1900s to illustrate his studies of body measurements, was also a physician who served in England during World War I rehabilitating wounded soldiers. His ideas about ideal bodies influenced his World War I memorials, especially the companion sculptures *The Homecoming* (1922) in Cambridge, England, and *The Victor* (1925) in Woodbury, New Jersey (fig. 14). McKenzie intended his figures for these memorials to represent the typical English and American soldier, respectively.

- 14 R. Tait McKenzie, *The Victor*, 1925. Bronze sculpture, approximately 96 in. tall, on limestone base. Woodbury, New Jersey



The sculptor chose a young man named Rae McGraw, captain of the 1924 University of Pennsylvania football team and a member of the Wharton School's class of 1925, as his model for the New Jersey memorial. As portrayed in the final sculpture, McGraw's facial features are crisply rendered to accentuate

the qualities McKenzie believed to be genuinely American: a broad forehead, square chin, and high cheekbones. The doughboy marches forward, rifle with fixed bayonet resting on his left shoulder, clasp his helmet along with an olive branch in his right hand. His unwavering gaze is trained on the future ahead of



him. In comparison with some others, the Woodbury doughboy is particularly solemn and, according to the artist, representative of the untiring resolve of American manhood.²⁹

An inventory of McKenzie's work, compiled by his wife, characterizes the Woodbury figure as follows: "Recalling how the French described our soldiers as they marched straight ahead, serious and determined, eyes always looking forward, the sculptor has created the true American, evolved from a host of ancestries, serious at work, laughing at play, ever alert, and ready for action."³⁰ McKenzie's sculpture for New Jersey, then, represented both the true American soldier, determined and ready to fight for his country, and the true American veteran, an example of reliability and service for future generations.

African American Veterans

African American veterans, by contrast, were largely invisible in the commemorative landscape of the interwar years. Even when monument honor rolls included the names of African American soldiers, as in Suffolk, Virginia, their sculpted figures did not portray black doughboys. The *World War Black Soldiers' Memorial* in Chicago is a notable exception (fig. 15).

Thanks to the efforts of George T. Kersey, an African American congressman from Illinois who introduced a bill to erect the memorial, and the *Chicago Defender* newspaper, which helped to raise funds for it, the *World War Black Soldiers' Memorial* was dedicated in Chicago's Bronzeville neighborhood in 1928. It commemorates Illinois's Eighth Regiment, which was reorganized in France as the 370th U.S. Infantry of the 93rd Division, one of only two black combat divisions during World War I. Like the 369th Infantry of New York's Harlem, the soldiers from Chicago



- 15 Leonard Crunelle, *World War Black Soldiers' Memorial*, also known as the *Victory Monument*, dedicated 1928 and 1936. Bronze sculpture, approximately 72 in. tall, and panels, 120 x 48 in., on granite base. Thirty-fifth Street and Dr. Martin Luther King Drive, Chicago

- 16 *The Crisis*, February 1919

fought with the French, escaping the severe discrimination experienced by the other black combat division, the 92nd, but still suffering the handicaps of inadequate training and the replacement of its black officers.³¹

The French-American sculptor Leonard Crunelle (1872–1944) designed the *World War Black Soldiers' Memorial* (also known as the *Victory Monument*). It originally consisted of a white granite shaft decorated with three bronze relief panels depicting an African American soldier, an African American woman representing motherhood, and a female

allegorical personification of Columbia holding a tablet with the names of the regiment's battles. Even though many commentators recognized the victory that the memorial represented for African American veterans, some worried that it did not adequately honor black troops because it did not feature the fighting soldier. One writer in the *Chicago Defender* felt that it was "not truly representative of a fighting unit, but more like a classic statue representing a passive group." In response to criticisms like these, the bronze sculpture of an African American doughboy was placed atop the monument in 1936.³²

The addition of a sculpture in the round depicting a black soldier reflected not only the national urge to pay homage to the warrior ideal but also the pressing need to recognize the manhood of African Americans who served in the war as combat soldiers. W. E. B. Du Bois, editor of the NAACP's journal the *Crisis*, had supported the participation of African Americans in the world war. After the war, he wrote passionately about the need to keep fighting a battle for equality that had not yet been won. "[W]e are cowards," Du Bois proclaimed in the pages of the *Crisis* in May 1919, "... if now that the war is over, we do not marshal every ounce of our brain and brawn to fight a sterner, longer, more unbending battle against the forces of hell in our own land. We return. We return from fighting. We return fighting."³³

If the photographs of uniformed African American veterans that regularly appeared in the *Crisis* were any proof, then Du Bois also understood that representations of black soldiers were part of that battle (fig. 16). Photos of African Americans, including soldiers, in the pages of the *Crisis* stood in contrast to the caricatures and stereotypical representations of blacks in mainstream periodicals and newspapers.³⁴ Only a handful of illustrations of African Americans, for example, appeared in the pages of the

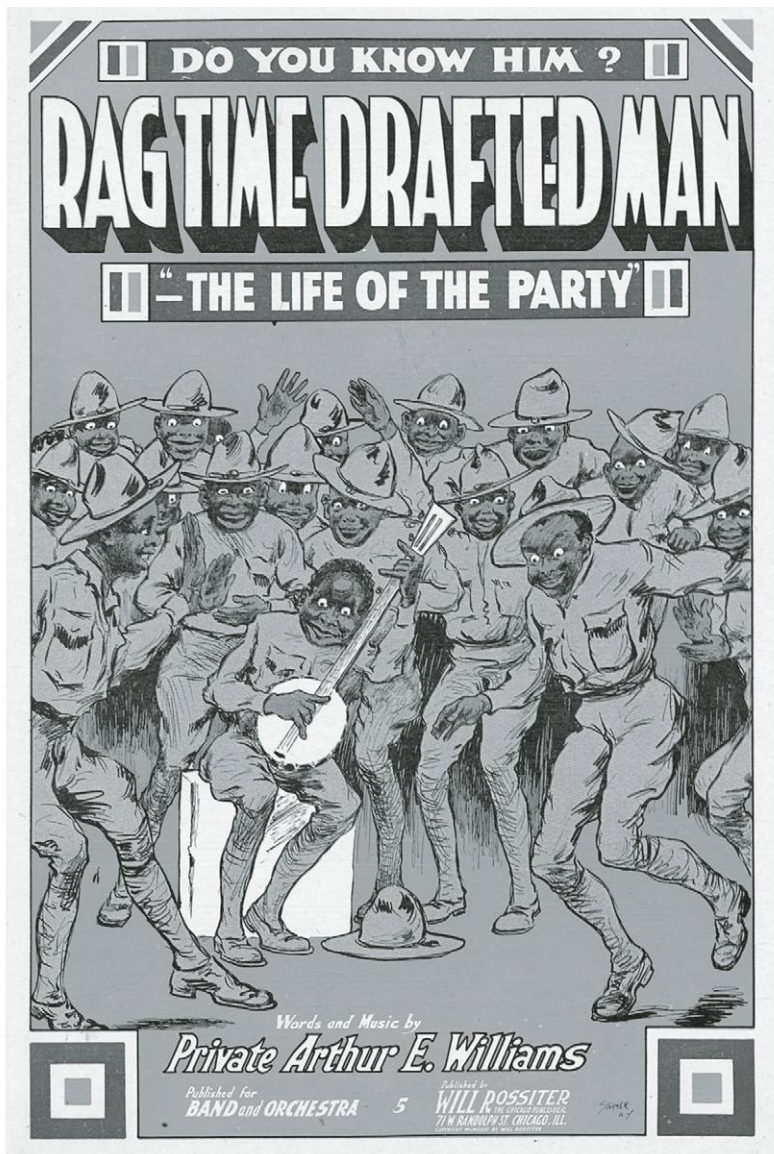
- 17 "The Brown Skin Boys are Coming," 1918. Sam DeVincent Collection of Illustrated Sheet Music, Archives Center, National Museum of American History, Behring Center, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.



American Magazine in 1918, mostly depictions of the Cream of Wheat brand signature black chef.

Sheet music covers were among the few places where black soldiers were portrayed for a mass consumer market. Dignified depictions of fighting and homecoming black doughboys appeared on some sheet music dealing with African

American subjects (fig. 17). But most illustrations portrayed black soldiers as lazy, superstitious, or cowardly. The images, many of them gross physical caricatures, primarily showed African Americans as musicians, members of wartime ragtime bands (fig. 18), in keeping with popular music's perpetuation of the themes and stereotypes of blackface minstrelsy.³⁵



18 "Rag Time Drafted Man," 1918. Sam DeVincent Collection of Illustrated Sheet Music, Archives Center, National Museum of American History, Behring Center, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

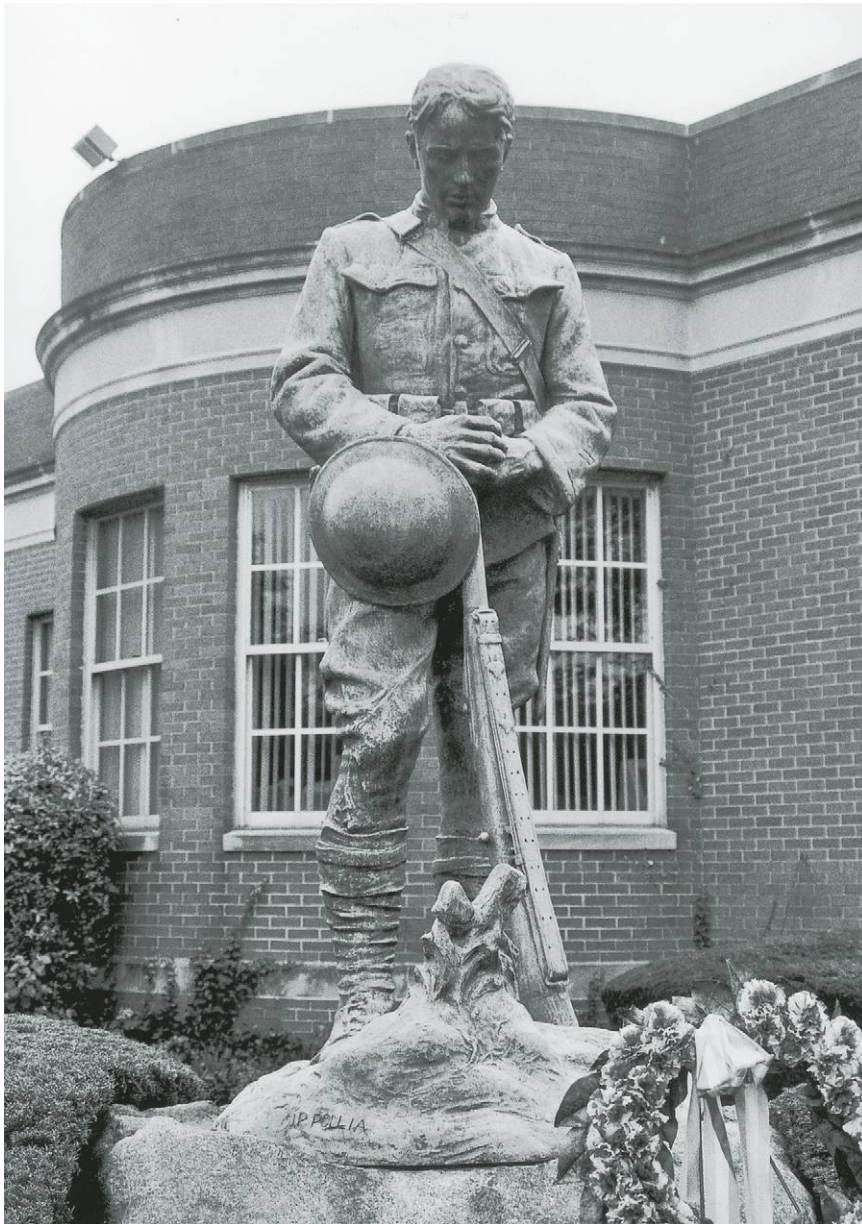
The demeaning nature of these portrayals of African Americans and the near absence of representations of black combat soldiers further highlight the significance of Chicago's doughboy sculpture. The fighting figures of soldiers in World War I memorials more than commemorated the sacrifices of U.S. troops; they offered concrete visions of American manhood in an uncertain postwar world. They reassured the public of men's roles, serving not only as symbols of vigilance, patriotism, and loyalty but also of stability, strength, and optimism.

Memorial Debates

By the mid-1920s, several years after the art world mobilized in its battle against soldier statues, doughboy memorials had not waned in popularity. The types of soldiers that were dedicated changed, with mourning doughboys increasingly common by mid-decade. Sculptors like Joseph Pollia (1893–1954) depicted grieving doughboys with bowed heads paying their respects at makeshift graves (fig. 19). These figures' acknowledgment of loss and invitation to mourn contrasted with the invincible soldiers discussed so far. Yet they still functioned within discourses of bravery and sacrifice that romanticized the soldier's role in the Great War. Moreover, sculptures of the fighting doughboy continued to be dedicated well into the 1930s. Viquesney even designed a new version of his *Spirit of the American Doughboy* in 1934, one made to be cast in zinc, probably to accommodate the financial strain of the Depression.³⁶ The figure of the soldier, whether grieving or fighting, still had powerful associations for contemporary viewers.

Cecilia Beaux had predicted the significance doughboy sculptures would have for the American public. As one of the few participants in the memorial debates of 1919 to recognize the power and function of soldier monuments, she said the Civil War soldier statue had not been "so far wrong in essentials." As for memorials to the Great War, Beaux felt that "the most poignant reminder" must be "the image of the boy himself, as he goes to the front, with the burden of his full kit, and accoutrement from under which his boyish, lean, American face, looks out." Beaux even took the unusual position of advocating "reproductions or replicas" of the "most successful" designs for communities that could not afford to commission original sculpture.³⁷

Regardless of her prescient words, critics continued through the 1920s to



19 Joseph Pollia, *World War I Doughboy*, 1926. Bronze sculpture, approximately 96 in. tall, on granite base. Glen Cove, New York

question not only the artistic merit of soldier sculptures but also their ability to inspire future generations. A radio address by the architect and muralist J. Monroe Hewlett summarized these frustrations. Hewlett derided the “cheap sentimentality” of “ready made stock sculpture,” urged memorial committees to consult experts for guidance in planning world war memorials, and stressed the importance of locating the new memorials in secluded sites conducive

to reflection and sacred thought.

“[W]hatever the horrors and sufferings of war may be,” Hewlett concluded, “they pass, and in a generation or two are forgotten. The enduring horrors are those perpetuated in marble and bronze.”³⁸

It is not possible in this article to do justice to a discussion of the living histories of World War I memorials and their evolving roles in contemporary communities (for better or worse). Suffice it to say that while many memorials languish in desolate corners of urban parks, others have been “adopted” by succeeding generations of community groups and veterans. Sometimes communities relocate memorials to improve their visibility or protect them from vandalism and traffic. New plaques and honor roles are added. With these changes, additional layers of meaning enhance or replace former associations.

Current debates regarding commemorative art demand that we reconsider not only the original meanings of memorials and their changing roles over time but also the tensions inherent in dialogues among critics, artists, veterans, and communities and the multiple meanings that memorials hold for diverse groups. Today, questions of representation are just as critical as they were in the 1920s, though they are framed in more abstract terms. The Lower Manhattan Development Corporation, the entity responsible for overseeing the World Trade Center memorial, for example, has grappled with decisions regarding the display of victims’ names, such as whether the rescue workers and firefighters should be designated as such or whether only their names should appear, eliding their professional roles. Choices made with regard to the “sanctity” of the site also resonate with World War I-era debates about the function and location of commemorative sculpture.

The town meetings, open design competition, and exhibitions that characterized the World Trade Center

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26, Photo by Dean Brown; 28, 37, 41, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.; 30, Courtesy of Perth Amboy Free Public Library, New Jersey; 31, Courtesy of American Legion National Headquarters; 38 (left), 39, 44, Photos by Jennifer Wingate; 40, Photo by Bob Thall for Commission on Chicago Landmarks

memorial process appear in part to have addressed the kinds of misunderstandings that existed between art professionals and memorial committees in the interwar period. Even so, art critics today voice concerns about the effectiveness of such “populist” efforts. In attempting to please everyone, critics argue, the jury’s winning design for lower Manhattan may fail to satisfy anyone. “Forget vapid populism,” Michael Kimmelman, art critic for the *New York Times*, wrote: “An open competition can produce a May Lin Vietnam memorial once in a generation, maybe, but mostly it results in generic monuments that are now the universal standard: stereotyped images plagiarizing superficial aspects of serious art, mostly minimalism, for watered-down symbols of mourning and loss.”³⁹

Kimmelman’s comments recall the

skepticism that early-twentieth-century critics expressed regarding the public’s ability to commission “serious art” for World War I memorials. An examination of memorials of the 1920s, the last major era of commemorative art before its revival in the 1980s, contributes historical perspective for present-day commemorative practices. However, studying the desires and motives of the interwar years and considering how cultural myths informed representations of war and masculinity offer much more in the early twenty-first century, a period marked by violence and uncertainty. Such visual work has the potential to lend insight into contemporary attitudes toward war, nationalism, heroism, and loss, and how such attitudes inform and are influenced by media representations and memorials in our own times.

Notes

I would like to thank the Smithsonian American Art Museum for hosting me as a postdoctoral fellow in 2003–4; the staff of SAAM and the National Museum of American History’s Archives Center for providing access to invaluable research collections; and Michele Bogart, my former advisor at Stony Brook University, for her encouragement and support.

- 1 Charles Moore, “War Memorials Bad and Good,” *American Legion Weekly* 4 (September 8, 1922): 16.
- 2 Jennifer Keene offers a summary of the varied and disputed nineteenth-century origins for the nickname “doughboy” in *Doughboys, the Great War and the Remaking of America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 2001), 3. For the quote, see Charles Moore, “Memorials of the Great War,” *American Magazine of Art* 10, no. 7 (May 1919): 233. Moore was also the chair of a memorial advisory committee formed by the American Federation of Arts in the winter of 1919. For an in-depth study of World War I memorial criticism and discussions of individual commissions, see Jennifer Wingate, “Doughboys, Art Worlds, and Identities: Sculpted Memories of World War I in the United States” (PhD diss., Stony Brook Univ., 2002).
- 3 Adeline Adams bemoans the unoriginality of Civil War statues in “War Memorials in Sculpture,” *Scribner’s* 65 (March 1919): 381–84. Kirk Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves: Race, War, and Monument in Nineteenth-Century America* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Univ. Press, 1997), 32; see the chapter “Common Soldiers.” By World War I, monument companies were also selling Spanish-American War soldier sculptures, which were called “hiker” statues.
- 4 Cecilia Beaux, “The Spirit of War Memorials,” *American Magazine of Art* 10, no. 7 (May 1919): 270–72. Many professionally trained sculptors designed doughboy memorials. John Paulding and Theodora Alice Ruggles Kitson designed soldiers that foundries marketed and reproduced, while Carl Paul Jennewein and Daniel Chester French made original works for individual communities.
- 5 “Unique Idaho Plan for Soldier Memorials,” *Monumental News* 33 (July 1921): 500, 511. This article illustrates how various pedestal and landscaping designs could be used to situate Fairbanks’s doughboy sculpture in different counties.
- 6 For an account of the suit against Viquesney, see “Statue Copyright Suit,” *Monumental News* 34 (May 1922): 315. Copyright records at the Library of Congress verify Berchem’s claim that he registered *Over-the-Top* in July 1920, several months before Viquesney registered *Spirit of the American Doughboy* in December of the same year. See also ads for Paulding’s sculptures published by the American Art Bronze Foundry in monument trade journals such as “This is the ‘Original Over-the-Top,’” in *Monument Reporter* (May 1922).
- 7 Viquesney offered a sheet-metal version of his design, an option more affordable for many communities than cast bronze. The relative low cost of his sheet-metal doughboys and the efficient fund-

- raising plan he provided contributed to the sculpture's popularity. Beginning at around \$1,000, prices for the *Spirit of the American Doughboy* varied depending on the material and the type of pedestal and plaque purchased. Such memorials were dedicated in small towns and big cities across the United States, including Emmitsburg, Md.; North Canaan, Conn.; Chicago; and Pittsburgh. Many communities ultimately settled for simple memorial plaques because they could not afford the more desirable figurative monuments. The price for such sculpture varied widely, from the \$5,500 cost of the World War I memorial (now destroyed) in Saratoga Park, Brooklyn, to the \$50,000 multifigure group by the sculptor Augustus Lukeman in Pittsfield, Mass.
- 8 For information on the sculptor, see Alan Anderson, "E. M. Viquesney: Portrait of a Doughboy's Sculptor," *Save Outdoor Sculpture! Update* 5, no. 1 (February 1994). In addition to the original *Spirit of the American Doughboy* copyrighted in 1920, which was available in cast bronze and sheet bronze, Viquesney created a modified zinc design, copyrighted in 1934. There is also a stone version, according to three entries in the Smithsonian Inventory of Sculpture. On the American Legion's endorsement, see T. Perry Wesley, "A Message from the Chamber President," (*Spencer, Ind.*) *Chamber Monthly*, February 1991, 5. See also Leo A. Spillane, "The Value of Department Conferences," *American Legion Weekly*, July 15, 1921, 14. A caption beneath a photo of Viquesney's doughboy explains that the sculpture was "selected from 147 suggestions submitted to the National Committee on Memorials as the Legion's tribute to the memory of the victims of the 1919 Armistice Day parade at Centralia Wash." Ads in the *Monumental News* and *American Legion Weekly* highlight the American Legion's endorsement, and ads for Viquesney's doughboy lamp underscore its symbolic meaning. See, for example, "A Lamp That Immortalizes America's Peace-Maker" in *American Legion Weekly*, May 26, 1922, 17.
 - 9 "Doughboy Bronze Statue and Base For Our Tablet," *Chambersburg (Pa.) Public Opinion*, November 17, 1921, 1; "Doughboy Statue Pronounced 100 Percent Perfect," *Chambersburg Public Opinion*, November 19, 1921, 2; "Doughboy Statue Dedicated by Local Legion," *Chambersburg Public Opinion*, November 12, 1923, 1.
 - 10 The symbolic significance of wreath-laying is highlighted by the fact that such acts were often contested. Several incidents in the 1920s involved disputes between the Ku Klux Klan and other groups, such as the Knights of Columbus, over the right to lay wreaths on world war memorials. For two examples of doughboy poems, see Sally M. Strealy, "The New Soldier Statue," *Chambersburg Public Opinion*, November 12, 1923, 2, and Blanche R. Bird, "Our Saline County War Memorial," *Marshall (Mo.) Weekly Democrat-News*, November 3, 1927, 2.
 - 11 Kirk Savage examines the popularity of familiar Civil War memorial designs in *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves*, 183. For an example of a CPI poster featuring fighting soldiers, see the Division of Films poster "Under Four Flags," Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. The poster's illustration of four charging soldiers was based on a temporary Liberty Loan sculpture by Philip Martiny.
 - 12 David M. Kennedy, *Over Here: The First World War and American Society* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1980), 203–4.
 - 13 *Ibid.*, 182–84; Empey's memoir was made into a movie in 1918. The illustration on the sheet music for "Your Lips Are No Man's Land But Mine" was also used for the *Over the Top* movie poster. See Leslie Midkiff DeBauche, *Reel Patriotism: The Movies and World War I* (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1997), 46.
 - 14 Only about 20 percent (more than seven thousand) of copyrighted songs from the era were published. See Frederick E. Vogel, *World War I Songs: A History and Dictionary of Popular American Patriotic Tunes, with Over 300 Complete Lyrics* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Co. Publishers, 1995), 45, 78, 105. The phrase "over the top" may have been adopted from the British "Tommies."
 - 15 Keene, *Doughboys, the Great War and the Remaking of America*, 38–60.
 - 16 "Monument to County's Heroes of Great War Unveiled Impressively," *Americus (Ga.) Times Recorder*, November 11, 1921, 1.
 - 17 Mrs. Benton Ledbetter, "City Has Splendid Memorial Erection in Overton Park," clipping from *Memphis (Tenn.) Mascot* (published by the Memphis American Legion Post No. 1), Nancy Coonsman Hahn Papers, Box 1, Folder 5 of 5, Scrapbook I, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
 - 18 "Come to Hero Land!" (advertisement), *New York Times*, November 8, 1917, 10; "Hero Land" (advertisement), *New York Times*, November 24, 1917, 9; "Hero Land Opens Gate to the Public Tonight," *New York Times*, November 24, 1917, 13; "Hero Land Opening a Blaze of Beauty," *New York Times*, November 25, 1917, 20.
 - 19 See, for example, the U.S. Food Administration poster "Victory Is a Question of Stamina," Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., and the handbill "Over the Top Together," Princeton Poster Collection, National Museum of American History. Although popular films are not the subject of this essay, these ranged from D. W. Griffith's sentimental *Hearts of the World* (1918) to *The Big Parade* (1925), which featured realistic depictions of trench warfare.
 - 20 The *Saturday Evening Post* cover is reproduced in Carolyn Kitch, *The Girl on the Magazine Cover: The Origins of Visual Stereotypes in American Mass Media* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 2001), 73. Kitch discusses Leyendecker's work in chapter 3, "Dangerous Women and the Crisis of Masculinity."
 - 21 Quoted in Frances Fisher Dubac, "A Sculptor of Soldiers and Athletes: The Work of R. Tait McKenzie Embodies the Spirit of Our Times," *Arts & Decoration*, June 1923, 31.
 - 22 I thank Nancy Tomes, professor of history at Stony Brook University, for suggesting that the poor health of recruits may have contributed to the desire that soldiers in memorial art be depicted as physically fit.
 - 23 John Whiteclay Chambers II, *To Raise an Army: The Draft Comes to Modern*

- America* (New York: The Free Press, 1987), 230; "Reclaiming Our Man-Power for War," *Literary Digest* 57 (April 6, 1918): 32.
- 24 "The Chances of Getting Hurt or Killed in This War: An Important Message to American Magazine readers from Surgeon General Gorgas as Reported by Mary B. Mullett," *American Magazine* 85 (March 1918): 41; "To Fathers and Mothers of Boys in France," *American Magazine* 86 (July 1918): 57.
 - 25 Alfred W. Crosby, *America's Forgotten Pandemic: The Influenza of 1918*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2003), 150; Stephen Vaughn, *Holding Fast the Inner Lines: Democracy, Nationalism, and the Committee on Public Information* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1980), 189.
 - 26 For examples of recruitment posters, see "The United States Army Builds Men," Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., and "US Army Develops All a Man Has of Courage," Princeton Poster Collection, National Museum of American History.
 - 27 Nancy K. Bristow, *Making Men Moral: Social Engineering during the Great War* (New York: New York Univ. Press, 1996), 12, 20–30, 182–83.
 - 28 Martiny first had submitted a doughboy in a less dynamic pose for the Chelsea memorial. It was rejected on May 20, 1920, by the Art Commission of the City of New York, chaired at the time by sculptor Robert Aitken. Chelsea Park Memorial file, Archives of the Art Commission of the City of New York. A notable exception to the absence of wounded soldiers in World War I memorials is Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney's *Washington Heights-Inwood Memorial* (1922). Of related significance was the CPI's censorship of all war photography distributed to the U.S. press. As a result, photographs of wounded and dead American soldiers were rarely printed in newspapers or periodicals during the war. See Susan D. Moeller, *Shooting War: Photography and the American Experience of Combat* (New York: Basic Books, 1989), 130–52. For a discussion of images of wounded and suffering soldiers in World War I memorials, see Wingate, "Doughboys, Art Worlds, and Identities."
 - 29 For information on the Woodbury commission, see Jim Six and Tom Durso, "Victorious: Woodbury Beams with Pride over Restored Doughboy Statue," *Woodbury (N.J.) Times*, May 31, 1994; and Christopher Hussey, *Tait McKenzie: A Sculptor of Youth* (London: Country Life, 1929), 68–69. For a more lighthearted depiction of a homecoming soldier, see the *Red Hook World War I Memorial* (1920) in Red Hook, Brooklyn, by the sculptor Augustus Lukeman (1871–1935).
 - 30 "Statues, Portraits, Medals, and Miscellaneous Sculpture by R. Tait McKenzie in the University of Pennsylvania Compiled by Mrs. R. Tait McKenzie," R. Tait McKenzie Papers, University of Pennsylvania Archives and Records Center, Box 8, FF 14.
 - 31 "Unveil War Memorial to Heroic Illinois Regiment," *Chicago Defender*, November 17, 1928, 1; "Cease Firing! Memory Again Thrills City," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, November 11, 1928, 1–2. General Robert Bullard criticized the performance of the 92nd Division, outlining their "failure" in a report published in the American press. Arthur E. Barbeau and Florette Henri, *The Unknown Soldiers: Black American Troops in World War I* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1974), 72, 112. Most black recruits were not trained for combat at all but served as menial and unskilled labor. Keene, *Doughboys, the Great War and the Remaking of America*, 22–23.
 - 32 "That Monument," *Chicago Defender*, July 28, 1928, part 2, 2, and James L. Reidy, *Chicago Sculpture* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1981), 246–48.
 - 33 For the Du Bois quote, see "Returning Soldiers," *Crisis*, May 1919, 14.
 - 34 Tom Pendergast, *Creating the Modern Man: American Magazine Culture, 1900–1950* (Columbia: Univ. of Missouri Press, 2000), 177, 195.
 - 35 William Barlow, "Cashing In: 1900–1939," in *Split Image: African Americans in the Mass Media*, ed. Janette L. Dates and William Barlow (Washington, D.C.: Howard Univ. Press, 1990), 26–29. The sheet music cover for the song "Good Bye Alexander, Good Bye Honey Boy" (1918) shows uniformed black soldiers, and the cover for "My Choc'late Soldier Sammy Boy" (1919) shows homecoming troops; both, Sam DeVincent Collection of Illustrated American Sheet Music, National Museum of American History. Most depictions of black soldiers on sheet music were demeaning stereotypes. See, for example, cover illustrations for the songs "Preparedness Blues" (1917), "When I Hear a Gun I'm Going to Run" (1914), "When I Gets Out in No-Man's Land" (1918), and "Jigadeer Johnson (March, March, March)" (1918); all, Sam DeVincent Collection.
 - 36 I thank Carol Grissom of the Smithsonian Center for Materials, Research, and Education for drawing my attention to these zinc designs.
 - 37 Beaux, "The Spirit of War Memorials," 270–72.
 - 38 J. Monroe Hewlett, "War Memorials," as reprinted in *American Magazine of Art* 17, no. 19 (October 1926): 512–14.
 - 39 Michael Kimmelman, "Ground Zero's Only Hope: Elitism," *New York Times*, December 7, 2003, sec. 2, 1, 47.